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EDUCATIONAL TELEVISION PROJECT. PRELIMINARY REPORT 1.

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A TOTAL OF 1,024 INTERVIEWS WITH TELEVISION CABLE USERS IN EUGENE, OREGON, WERE CONDUCTED TO INVESTIGATE THE NATURE AND SOURCES OF RESISTANCE TO THE USE OF EDUCATIONAL TELEVISION. THIS REPORT PRESENTED AN INTRODUCTION TO THE SUBJECT. THE INVESTIGATORS CONCLUDED THAT THE PERSON LEAST RESISTANT TO EDUCATIONAL TELEVISION COULD BE DESCRIBED AS FLEXIBLE AND CAPABLE, NOT ONLY OF MAKING UP HIS MIND BUT OF INFLUENCING OTHERS. HE WAS FAIRLY WELL EDUCATED, HAD A RESPECTED OCCUPATION, AND WAS RECEPTIVE TO MANY FORMS OF CULTURE AND EDUCATION. THE INVESTIGATORS POINTED OUT THAT MANY QUESTIONS IN THIS PRELIMINARY ANALYSIS WILL BE STUDIED FURTHR. RELATED REPORTS ARE ED 003 242, ED 003 243, AND ED 003 641 THROUGH ED 003 645. (JC)

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the institute for community studies
studies in resistances to cultural innovations

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EDUCATIONAL TELEVISION PROJECT PRELIMINARY REPORT NUMBER ONE

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the university of oregon
eugene, oregon

The Institute for Community Studies
Studies in Resistances to Cultural Innovation

Start

EDUCATIONAL TELEVISION PROJECT

~~PRELIMINARY~~ REPORT ~~NUMBER~~ 1. ONE

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In a very real sense this report is the result of the efforts not only of those listed as authors but of all the members of the Project staff. Each of the following has made a contribution:

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PREFACE

In January, 1959, a group of the University of Oregon faculty submitted to the U.S. Office of Education a proposal for a broad investigation into the nature and sources of resistance to the use of television for educational purposes. The proposal expressed the general problem in these words:

> The inclusion of Title VII as a separate section of the National Defense Education Act to deal with "research and experimentation in more effective utilization of television, radio, motion pictures, and related media for educational purposes" recognises the fact that these media have never fully realized their potential as educational tools. One of the problems, then is to determine why there have never been wholehearted acceptance by educators of such devices, or more demands by students for their general use, or much more basic support or interest shown by the general public in utilizing them to extend educational horizons.
>
> Many students have pointed out the virtues of audio-visual aids in teaching. Some studies show how motion pictures, radio, or television can be used to heighten interest and to further knowledge about a subject. Considerable evidence has been built up in favor of the use of these media for educational purposes. It has been disconcerting, therefore, that more use has not been made of them as an aid to teaching.
>
> Most studies have dealt with the positive aspects of acceptance and use of audio-visual media. Comparatively little attention has been given to the negative aspects of indifference, resistance, and rejection. It is our contention that a study of resistances to the use of these media for educational purposes is basic to the problem of acceptance and more effective utilization.

> The proposed investigation rests on the basic hypothesis that it is possible to enlarge an existing educational television audience by elimination of the factors which generate resistance to this medium of instruction. The purpose of this inquiry are: to discover what these factors are; to ascertain their relative importance; and to experiment with their elimination.[1]

This application was accepted and supported under Title VII of the National Defense Education Act of 1958, and on July 1, 1959, a three-year presearch program was begun under the auspices of the Institute of Community Studies of the University of Oregon.

With the first of two main stages of the inquiry well under way the present volume has been prepared to describe the nature of the study, to indicate some of the modifications made in the original proposal, and to make available in simple form some of the preliminary findings of the first year's work. This is primarily a progress report designed to apprise those engaged in educational television and the academic world of the nature of our activities and to solicit suggestions that might still be incorporated into the as yet unfinished analysis. Of particular importance to the project staff will be the value of having brought together under one cover a record of activities that have consumed a great share of their time and thought for the preceding year and a half.

The staff believes that research in the community and its utilization of educational television has matured to the point where we are no longer in the dark about the basic characteristics of the viewing audience.[2]

---

1. Starlin, D.G., Application to the Commissioner of Education, U.S. Office of Education, Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, for a grant to support a research project under provisions of Title VII of the National Defense Act of 1958. (Ditteed, January 26, 1960)

2. Schramm, Wilbur (ed.) The Impact of Educational Television. Urbana, 1960.

We know the size of the audience, its degree of devotion to educational television, its social and cultural characteristics, some of its many diverse attitudes and opinions, its use of other media, and a score or more of other factors. We do not know which of these it is important to understand in order to comprehend the dynamics of educational television viewing. We do not even know if among all the factors listed and studied we have included the ones which ultimately determine whether or not a person watches educational television. What is known so far has remained too often a mass of unrelated detail. What we want to know is how it all fits together to explain the television viewing habits of the American public. It is our hope that this report will outline some of the ways in which these parts can be seen as components of a whole. It is only a preliminary report and will undoubtedly raise more questions than it answers; but it will also, we hope, indicate the direction which we believe research in educational television must now take.

FORWARD

KOAC-TV is located at Corvallis, Oregon where it operates on channel 7. The transmitter, located five miles north of Corvallis on Vineyard Hill, is an RCA-TT-RA, which operates on 30 Kilowatts video and 16.0 Kilowatts audio. The antenna height is 1210 feet above the average terrain. Preliminary studies completed by the research team indicate that the prime viewing area of the station is to be found within an approximate radius of some 25 miles. Beyond that the quality of reception appears to vary from "weak" to "non-existent."

Production studios are maintained at two locations: one at Oregon State College in Corvallis and the other about 40 miles away at the University of Oregon in Eugene. In addition, film recording studios are available at the state capital (Salem) and at Oregon College of Education at Monmouth. Each of the two production studios are equipped with two RCA image orthicon cameras, slide and film chains, plus all necessary related lighting, scenic, and audio equipment needed to carry out standard studio productions. The Corvallis studio has recently been equipped with a vidio-tape recorder which is available to the Eugene studios for recording purposes. Kinescoping facilities for the system are housed in the Corvallis studios. A microwave relay links each studio to the transmitter from which the signals are broadcast in the conventional manner.

Station KOAC-TV had been offering a broadcast schedule for two years and five months at the time of the survey. During the time interviewing for the study was in progress the station went on the air at 9:00 AM Monday through Friday. On Monday, Wednesday and Friday mornings,

programming consisted of three hours of classroom lecture television presentations. These were part of an Inter-Institutional Teaching by Television Project, and consisted of televised lectures of standard college courses taught in the Oregon system. On Tuesday and Thursday mornings, the station followed the same general pattern, excepting that only one of the courses offered was designed especially for college classroom use. During these hours the public schools of the cities receiving the signal made use of time on the station for regular in-class presentations. The balance of the time remaining on Tuesday and Thursday mornings was used for programs of general viewer interest. In general, the morning broadcasting time of the station was primarily devoted to the presentation of classroom type programs.

The station signed off at noon to return to the air at 5:00 PM and continue until 9:00 PM. Programs broadcast at this time were of greater variety than those offered in the morning hours. The lecture-type "classroom" approach programs were limited to two designed for extension students studying at home. Table I represents the major divisions of the *programming structure of the station*, derived from one week of the schedule offered during the time the field survey was underway.

A reference to Tables 4 and 5 of the National Educational and Radio Center's compilation of "The Content of Educational Television"[1] indicates that KOAC-TV emphasized teaching and talks more than the average for University owned educational stations and can therefore be expected to have somewhat less general appeal than most educational television stations.

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1. In Schramm, Ibid., pg. 7.

Table I

KOAC-TV Programming for the Week of February 29-March 4, 1960

Per cent of Program Time for:		Per cent of Program Time for:	
Discussion	9%	Entertainment	6%
Talks	24	Religion	0
Documentary	4	Agriculture	1
Drama	3	News	2
Lecture-demonstration	54	Children's	6
Music	6	Sports	1
		Teaching and other Information	84
	100%		100%

DESIGN OF THE RESEARCH

The Site of the Study. The original research proposal called for a sample of 1,000 persons to be drawn from among the television viewers of Albany, Oregon, a community of 13,000 located ten miles from the KOAC-TV transmitter in Corvallis. Albany is the recipient of first-class reception of KOAC-TV signals and second-class reception of the commercial stations in Portland which broadcast the major network productions. However, the presence of a very vocal opposition to the educational channel in Albany was a factor to be considered. Complaints had been received protesting that the KOAC-TV signal was interfering with the weaker signal of an adjacent commercial channel. More concretely, it reputedly interfered with the reception of a major sporting event broadcast weekly on a Portland station. Given our concern with resistance to educational television it was thought that this conflict would make Albany an excellent source of subjects.

Two factors led the staff to reject Albany as the site of our field work. The first of these was the realization that while Albany might furnish resisters to educational television, they would be resisting for reasons unrelated to the content of the educational programs, and would be equally hostile to any station, regardless of type, which chanced to interfere with a locally favored program. Furthermore, their objection to KOAC-TV's interference with one program might have a "reverse" halo effect, producing a blanket condemnation of educational television at any time of day. It thus became imperative to find a community in which all stations were equally well received, and no one interfered with any other.

A second complicating factor occured to the staff. While the focus of the study was to remain on "resisters" it seemed an obvious necessity to obtain a large enough group of educational television users, that is, of "acceptors," to afford the contrast and standard of comparison necessary to achieve a better understanding of resisters. This would require that of our sample of 1000 at least one to two hundred persons be ETV acceptors. We became concerned that a small rural-oriented community which lacked a large body of professional or highly educated people would offer, among a thousand randomly selected residents, so few KOAC-TV viewers that comparative analysis would be severely limited.[1]

Four possible sites remained: Portland, Corvallis, Salem, and Eugene. Portland was eliminated when the prospects of opening a new ETV station during 1960 dimmed. Corvallis had to be ruled out because of the advantage in reception of KOAC-TV over the commercial stations 70 miles away. This left only Salem and the Eugene-Springfield area. At first inspection, Salem appeared more suitable. The major industry, state government, and a wholesale-retail business centered around this industry, supported enough people of the type commonly known to watch educational television to assure us of an adequate number of acceptors. One question remained: could Salemites receive both the educational station and the commercial stations from Portland?

A tentative exploration of this question was followed by a more systematic field survey involving 185 dwelling units located in forty-five randomly selected areas of Salem. Using standard procedures for evaluating lines of resolution readable on a KOAC-TV test pattern, the

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1. The assumptions implicit in this statement seem well founded. For a synthesis of the literature on this point see: Schramm, Ibid, pp.23-25.

results in the 178 dwelling units to which the field workers were admitted clearly indicate serious limitations. Slightly more than four out of every ten households could not receive an acceptable picture, and less than 35 per cent of the television homes were able to pull in a fair or good image.

The process of elimination effectively confined us to Eugene. Earlier this locale had been rejected for two major reasons. First, due to the presence of the University there it was feared that the population had been over-interviewed; second, that KOAC-TV viewing was only possible, in most instances through the use of a relatively costly co-axial cable connection, thus resulting in sample bias.

Even though it was clear that a sample of persons prosperous or addicted enough to pay a regular monthly fee for the sake of better reception and more varied programs could hardly be expected to be representative of all television viewers in the community, there were other factors whose positive implications were of overriding importance. In all other communities considered it was apparent from the outset that a major reason why people did not watch the ETV channel was that they either did not receive these programs at all or the reception was inferior to that of other available channels. For a study which was designed to pinpoint the personal and social characteristics associated with ETV attitudes and utilization, this variation in reception was a major disruptive factor.

The presence in Eugene and Springfield of the television cable offered a splendid research situation in which the reception variable is relatively standard for all cable subscribers. Each household connected to the cable receives the commercial station located in Eugene,

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the ETV channel in Corvallis, and three commercial stations in Portland. To a degree not otherwise possible all of these families have immediate access to five channels, including an educational channel, and have unusually uniform reception. In this situation those persons who reported that they did not view ETV programs could not explain this behavior in terms of reception characteristics. Among cable subscribers ETV viewing behavior would have to be explained by the social and psychological factors toward which the study was oriented. This factor more than any other led to the choice of Eugene and Springfield as the study communities.

The fact that a sample of cable subscribers would not be representative of all television viewers in these communities placed certain limitations on the study. These problems are discussed in the following sections.

Sample Selection. The television cable proved an advantage in that sampling from its list of cable subscribers was a simple and manageable operation. The cable companies in both Eugene and Springfield were most cooperative and readily gave us a printed duplicate of their current billing list. It was only necessary to number the cards, decide on a sampling rate, pick a starting number from a table of random numbers, and proceed down the list from the starting number removing every n^{th} card.[2] In this way, the required 1,500 cable users were selected and the interviewing could begin.

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2. It was necessary in those cases where a commercial or public institution was originally drawn to replace them with private households drawn with reference to the table of random numbers.

The actual field work was done by a reputable survey research organization under contract to the University. This contract called for the project staff to list 1,500 names and addresses of which the research organization guaranteed at least 1000 completed interviews with approximately half of the respondents to be men. Naming the University as sponsor, all of the interviewing was completed in the period from February 23 to March 8, 1960 with a total of 1024 edited and verified interviews turned over to the project.

A breakdown of the initial list of 1504 can be found in Table II, below.

Table II

Interview Responses: Initial, Follow-Up and Not Completed

	Number	Percent		
Interviewed on first call	638	43%		
Interviewed on second call	279	19%		
Interviewed on third call	94	6%		
Interviewed on fourth or fifth call	7	-		
Interviewed, but no information as to number of calls	6	-		
Total number of completed interviews			1,024	68%
Refusals	209	14%		
Not at home	130	9%		
Other non-interview*	141	9%		
Total number not interviewed			480	32%
Total number listed			1,504	100%

- Less than one percent
* Such as incorrect address, no longer on cable, etc.

At first glance, the relatively high number of non-interviewed subscribers would seem to be a cause for concern, especially if it is thought that the person less interested in television generally or educational television in particular would be the most likely to refuse an interviewer. Thus, our sample would not even be representative of cable subscribers, let alone general television viewers in the Eugene-Springfield area.*

In order to ascertain just how much bias, if any, had been introduced by failure to obtain interviews from each of the selected elements in the sample, one of the project staff drew a sample from among all those not interviewed in the first wave.** Taking every fourth person from among the remaining 453 gave us 114 persons to be checked. We were able to interview 55 of the 114 or 48%. As can be seen from Tables III and IV, there is very little difference between those members of the sample who were interviewed by the survey organization and those who were omitted because of their initial refusal or unavailability. In both cases, the slight difference was found to be in the predicted direction. That is, among the follow-ups there were fewer heavy viewers of television or educational television.

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* Eugene is a wholesaling and retailing center, as well as the home of the University of Oregon. Its social life is predominently middle class and professional in nature. Springfield, on the other hand, is smaller in population (20,000 compared to Eugene's 51,000) and possesses an economy centered around the lumbering industry and is more working class in character than Eugene. Only 5% of our sample is made up of residents of Springfield, due in part to the lower average yearly income and in part to the comparatively late entry of a television cable operation in the community.

** Omitting the 27 who had dropped their cable subscription between the time the billing list was given to us by the cable company and the time of the first wave of interviewing, approximately one month.

Table III

Per Cent Watching Less than 20 Hours of TV Weekly

	Per cent	Number
Sample	42%	1,024
Follow-up	45%	55

Table IV

Per Cent Who Say They Watch KOAC-TV Regularly or Occasionally

	Per cent	Number
Sample	25%	1,024
Follow-up	20%	55

This absence of a major difference between sample and follow-up is encouraging. In all probability, any difference in television viewing behavior on the part of the non-interviewed would be in the form of a gradual shading off of television viewing from the high of those who originally responded to a low of those who were rarely home or who refused to be interviewed. Had the follow-ups been noticeably less addicted to television we would have then had grounds for expecting the remainder of the 114 selected for sample checking to be even more resistant to television.

The more important question about sampling procedures still remains to be answered, that is: In what way does the sampling universe (all cable subscribers in the Eugene-Springfield area) differ, if at all, from the general population of television viewers (cable and non-cable) of the area? Some differences are reported in Table V.

Table V

Comparison of Cable Users and Area Probability Sample for Three Selected Areas

	Per cent with Family Income of Over $7,000	Per cent With Some College Education	Per cent Having White Collar Occupations	Per cent 45 Years of Age or Older	Number in Each Sample
Eugene					
Cable Users	43%	38%	37%	52%	712
Random Sample*	22%	21%	28%	50%	525
Willakenzie					
Cable Users	76%	56%	42%	36%	135
Random Sample	51%	25%	42%	41%	92
River Road					
Cable Users	57%	36%	30%	40%	125
Random Sample	25%	21%	30%	50%	73

* These figures are based on an area probability survey of the Eugene-Springfield area completed in the summer of 1959. We will be positive about the deviation of the cable subscribers from the rest of the community only when the 1960 decennial census (conducted the month following the completion of our interviewing) is published in detail. In the meantime, the area probability sample gives us a conservative estimate of the difference between cable viewers and the general television users as this technique leaves some discretion to the interviewer and has a bias in favor of higher income households. Our reasoning presumes the area has reached set ownership saturation. For 1960 the county saturation is at 83% according to the Television Factbook #30, Television Digest, Pennslyvania Triangle Publishing Company, 1960, Spring-Summer Edition.

Two estimates of the possible effect of limiting our sampling to those willing to pay $5.00 monthly for a subscription to the commercial cable company have been advanced. One holds that the higher income groups in the community would be over represented. The other maintains that the cable users were not so much the wealthy as the heavy or addicted users of television. The first point is certainly supported by data. We are less certain about the second, but it appears from comparable data on two other samples that cable subscribers do not spend more time viewing television.

It is not possible to explain away the atypicality of the cable subscribing television viewers: they <u>are</u> wealthier <u>and</u> better educated. We want to make the reader fully aware of the fact that in the paragraphs to follow we are not talking about the <u>average</u> televiewer in the <u>average</u> city, but about a specific type. This does not mean, however, that the relationships which we are reporting hold true only for this very limited group of people. We would argue that our findings have general value in explaining and understanding television behavior. That is, in similar studies carried out with different populations, the magnitude of the relationship or the absolute proportion of the sample doing one thing or another would probably vary, but the fact that a relationship existed would still hold true.

THE AUDIENCE FOR KOAC

Three individual measures of KOAC-TV viewing were incorporated into the questionnaire. They were the following:

1) "Can you tell me what your experience has been with (Channel 7, Cable 4) KOAC-TV? Do you find time to watch it regularly, occasionally, or almost never?"

Regularly	2%
Occasionally	23
Almost never	59
Haven't heard of it	2
Can't get it	11
No Answer	2
	99% N = 1,024

2) Respondents who reported watching a program on KOAC-TV during the seven days preceding the interview. (Counted in half-hour units of viewing)

Four or more half hour units	3%
Three half hour units	2
Two half hour units	3
One half hour unit	5
None	86
	99% N = 1,024

3) Per cent responding to each alternative of a Semantic Differential scale for which the concept was:

Cable 4, Channel 7, KOAC

3	I often watch	3%
2		5
1		12
0	(midpoint)	21
1		10
2		7
3	I never watch	32
	No Answer	8
	Not codeable	1
		99% N = 1,024

These measures are strongly related to each other and we feel confident that they are measuring the same behavior: KOAC-TV viewing. Each, however, sheds light on a particular aspect of KOAC-TV viewing not illuminated by the others. For instance, the second measure, the one based on the preceding week's viewing, tells us nothing about the people who watch less than once a week, or who might have been on vacation or sick during the week and thus would have missed KOAC-TV, but who might otherwise watch from time to time or when they are able. When measures 1 and 2 are combined we can distinguish two types of KOAC-TV viewers: those who watch frequently enough to have viewed during the last week, and those who only watch occasionally. Question 1 alone does not allow us to locate those television viewers who have never watched KOAC-TV, only those who rarely watch. Combining measures 1 and 3 makes it possible to separate those who never watch from these who seldom, but sometimes watch.

Combining all three measures yields a six way breakdown of utilization. At the one extreme are those who say they watch regularly or occasionally (measure 1) and who also report in measure 2 that they watched 3 or more KOAC-TV programs during the preceding week. At the other end are those who not only did not watch any half-hour units last week but who maintain they have not heard of the station and its programs or can not receive its signal. The six Utilization Categories are outlined in Table VI.

Table VI

KOAC-TV Utilization Categories

Categories Ranked by Degree of Utilization	CRITERIA 1) Reported KOAC-TV Experience	2) Reported Number of ½ Hour Units of KOAC-TV	3) Responses On KOAC-TV Semantic Differential	Number of Cases
I	Regularly or Occasionally	3 or 4	--	37
II	Regularly, Occasionally, Almost Never	1 or 2	--	74
III	Regularly or Occasionally	0	--	181
IV	Almost Never	0	1-6	281
V	Almost Never	0	7, NA	279
VI	Cannot Get It, Have Not Heard Of It	0	--	118
			Sub total	970
			No Answer to one or more questions	54
			Total	1,024

These measures combined have permitted us to rank the members of our sample along the dimention of KOAC-TV watching in a way that takes into account a number of facets of viewing, but it is limited to viewing and tells us nothing about an individual's attitude toward KOAC-TV. That is, the Utilization Scale tells us only who watches, and nothing about another type of KOAC-TV reaction that is crucial for this study: resistance. A person may not have watched KOAC-TV because he is busy with a large family, or because others in the household want to watch another station, or because he works during the broadcast

hours of KOAC-TV. These people cannot properly be called resisters if they would like to watch KOAC-TV but simply do not have the opportunity to do so. On the other hand these television viewers who do not have a favorable attitude towards KOAC-TV and who do not watch may rightfully be labeled resisters. Using still another semantic differential scale (KOAC-TV: I Like ------- I Dislike) it is possible to divide the sample into two Evaluation Categories, those who positively like KOAC-TV and those who dislike or are indifferent to KOAC-TV.

Considering the Utilization Categories and the Evaluation Categories simultaneously produces twelve types or response to KOAC-TV. For each utilization rank there is both a favorable and not favorable (neutral and hostile combined) evaluation. For the sake of brevity and readability in this preliminary report these twelve types have been combined to produce the three-type KOAC-TV typology presented in Table VII.

Table VII

KOAC-TV Typology

Type	Utilization Type	Evaluation Type	Total	
			%	N
Fans	I and II	Favorable and Not Favorable	11%	111
Potential Fans	III through VI	Favorable	24%	250
Resisters	III through VI	Not Favorable	59%	609
		No Answer to one or more measures	5%	54
		Total	99%	1,024

These people who have utilized KOAC-TV during the past week (regardless of evaluation) have been called Viewers or Fans. Those who did not view KOAC-TV during the past week, but who are favorable toward KOAC-TV we have called the Potential or Latent Fans. Those who did not view KOAC-TV during the past week and who are not positive in their attitude toward KOAC-TV are the Resisters. That is, the Fans watch KOAC-TV, the Potential Fans are likely to watch at one time or another KOAC-TV, and the Resisters are not likely to watch.

RESISTERS AND FANS: THE REACTION TO AN EDUCATIONAL TELEVISION STATION

The original research proposal asserts the belief that the "factors which generate resistance" to educational television can be understood and reduced. It continues with the statement that "the purpose of this inquiry is: to discover what these factors are; to ascertain their relative importance; and to experiment with their elimination." This section of the preliminary report presents some data designed to fullfil only the first of these goals: the enumeration of the factors of resistance and a description of how they operate through various types of people. There is no attempt to asses their relative importance except for occasional speculations which will be developed and elaborated upon in forthcoming reports. The final step, experimentation with the reduction of resistance producing factors, will also be treated separately.

Four factors are strongly related to educational television, not only in data upon which this report is based, but in most of the other completed field studies. They are the educational attainment of the viewer, his social class, his participation in the organized activities of his community, and the degree to which he pursues such other avenues of "high-brow" communications as music, literature, and lectures. These four will be discussed first and will be followed by a consideration of a number of other factors relating to resistance, some of which are already familiar to students of educational television and others which may shed new light on the subject.

Education. The most highly educated people in our sample -- those with some post-graduate work or professional training -- have the highest proportion of Viewers and of Potential Fans[1] among their number. Those who have attended

Table VIII

EDUCATION - KOAC-TV
("How Many Years of School Did You Complete?")

(Percentages across)

	KOAC TYPOLOGY					
EDUCATION	Viewers	Potential Fans	Resisters	No Answer	Total %	Total N
Grade School	9%	18	64	9	100%	101
High School	9%	22	64	6	101%	507
College	12%	27	56	4	99%	329
Graduate Work	24%	36	38	1	99%	78
No Answer	-	-	-	-	-	9

college but who have not gone on to graduate school have the next highest proportion. The proportion is lowest among those tho have never attended a college class, their being no difference between people who have had some high school education and those who have not progressed beyond grade school. One reason for the similarity between the grade school and the high school educated might be that those with a grade school education in our sample have atypically high incomes for their educational level. Had we been able to include the less well educated persons who possesed a lower income the difference between the primary and secondary educated might have been more evident.

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1. From time to time it will help to make a relationship clearer if the viewers and potential fans are considered as a group whom we have called accepters. Accepters, of course, is merely a more convenient term for non-resisters.

As it is, the most noticable difference is between these who have had some college experience and those who have never attended college. Put another way, the less educated are the more resistant to educational television, at least the type of educational television broadcast over KOAC-TV.

The greater degree of educational television viewing among the highly educated might be due either to the fact that they spend more time watching television in general or that they select KOAC-TV programs for special attention. The data indicated that the college educated watch less general television than do the less educated. About two-thirds of those without

Table IX

EDUCATION - GENERAL TELEVISION[2]
("How many years of school did you complete?")

(Percentages across)

	WEEKLY TELEVISION VIEWING (HOURS)					
EDUCATION	0-9½	10-19½	20-29½	30 or more	Total %	N
Grade School	10%	26	31	34	101%	101
High School	13%	22	28	36	99%	507
College	19%	30	27	24	100%	329
Graduate Work	31%	33	18	18	100%	78
No Answer	-	-	-	-	-	9

2. Total weekly television viewing time for each respondent was gauged by counting the number of half-hour programs he watched and checked on a weekly log which listed all programs in half-hourly steps with the earliest broadcast each day over the five cable stations during the week preceding the interview.

some college education watch more than twenty hours of general television a week, while only half of the college educated and slightly more than a third of the graduate trained watch as much general television. This suggests that the more educated, who watch less general television, but more educational television, spend a fairly high proportion of their viewing time watching KOAC-TV. That is, they are seeking KOAC-TV out from among the other stations. It also implies that those people without a college education are avoiding or resisting educational television, otherwise the data would have shown that the people who watched general television the most would also be the most frequent viewers of educational television.

Status and Occupation. Previous work in the field[3] has amassed data which show that the people with high status occupations, such as doctors, businessmen, and government officials, are less resistant to educational television than those who have less status in American society, such as clerks, salesmen, and laborers. Up to a point our data support this idea. There are more accepters among professionals than among proprietors, managers and officials, and more accepters among these businessmen than among their lower white-collar employees. But this is the point at which the unexpected is found. There are more viewers among the blue collar workers than among any other group except the professionals. We had expected a steady growth in resistance to match the drop in social status as measured by occupation. Previous studies interested in the same problem offered no preparation for this surprising and hard to explain reversal. We know only that it is not due to a greater general television viewing among these people. The data show that blue collar workers watch relatively less general television but more educational television than the other non-professional people.

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1. Schramm, Wilbur (ed.), The Impact of Educational Television, Urbana, 1960, Pgs. 26-8, 30.

Table X

OCCUPATION - KOAC-TV
("What is Your Regular Occupation?")

(Percentages across)

	KOAC TYPOLOGY					
OCCUPATION	Viewer	Potential Fan	Resister	No Answer	Total %	N
Professionals	19%	33	44	5	101%	104
Proprietor, Manager, Official	9%	25	63	5	102%	155
Lower White Collar	4%	26	66	4	100%	113
Blue Collar	14%	24	55	7	100%	178
Housewives and others not in labor force	10%	23	62	6	101%	469
No Answer	-	-	-	-	-	5

Table XI

OCCUPATION - GENERAL TELEVISION
("What is Your Regular Occupation?")

(Percentages across)

	WEEKLY TELEVISION VIEWING (HOURS)					
OCCUPATION	0-9½	10-19½	20-29½	30 or more	Total	
Professionals	20%	39	24	17	100%	104
Proprietors, Manager, Officials	25%	28	23	24	100%	155
Lower White Collar	14%	26	32	28	100%	113
Blue Collar	9%	29	38	24	100%	178
Housewives and others not in labor force	15%	22	24	39	100%	469
No Answer	-	-	-	-	-	5

One interpretation worthy of further investigation is that working people can find some programs on KOAC-TV which meet their needs for vocational advancement. The possibility exists that of the two occupational groups whose members usually do not attend college, lower white collar and blue collar workers, the blue collar workers are less likely to have graduated from high school and more likely, therefore, to want the chance of at least catching up to that level. This shifts our focus from resistance to reasons for acceptance. Unfortunately it is not within the scope of this preliminary report to follow up with tests of this type of speculation. It is only offered here as a hint of the possibility of a more complete explanation of this puzzling finding.

Thus far we have neglected housewives, students, the retired and the unemployed. Of this group, the greatest number are housewives. These people are quite similar in their educational television viewing behavior to the employed when the employed are considered as a group rather than divided into four occupational rankings as they have been in this report. Differences within the non-employed might show up if they too were divided into smaller groups as were the employed; for instance, if housewives were classified according to their husband's occupations.

People who do not work during the day do have one thing in common: regardless of their social and educational differences they have more leisure time to give to all types of general television, including educational television. Despite the enlarged opportunity afforded by having more freedom of choice over the use of their time, only one out of every ten housewives (10%) viewed KOAC-TV during the week before the interview

while slightly more than one out of every nine (11%) employed people viewed the station. This was in spite of the fact that KOAC-TV broadcasts almost half of its programs during the day when only housewives and others not in the working force are home and able to turn on their sets.

Community Participation. The joiners in any community, those who participate in its voluntarily organized life and who spend a goodly part of their spare time attending meetings and other functions, would seem to have the least amount of time for any type of television viewing. This would be especially true of those who belong to more than two or three organizations. The proportion of people giving more than twenty hours a week to television viewing in general does gradually but steadily decline as the number of organizations to which they belong increases.

Table XII

NUMBER OF ORGANIZATIONS - GENERAL TELEVISION
("...here is a list of...different kinds of clubs and organizations ...Do you belong to any of these groups?")

(Percentages across)

NUMBER OF ORGANIZATIONS	WEEKLY TELEVISION VIEWING (HOURS) 0-9½	10-19½	20-29½	30 or more	Total %	N
None	11%	25	27	38	101%	159
One	15%	23	27	35	100%	218
Two	14%	25	30	31	100%	194
Three	15%	28	28	30	101%	174
Four or five	18%	25	33	24	100%	170
Six or more	23%	37	14	25	99%	98
No Answer	-	-	-	-	-	11

The very same people who have joined a large number of organizations and who have less time for general television have as many KOAC-TV viewers among their number as people who are without similar commitments. On the other hand, there is no noticable increase in the percentage of KOAC-TV viewers as the number of memberships increases, except for those who have joined six or more associations. There is a sudden jump in KOAC-TV viewing among those most dedicated joiners rather than the decline in KOAC-TV viewing to be expected if time alone were the consideration.

Table XIII

NUMBER OF ORGANIZATIONS - KOAC-TV
("...here is a list of...different kinds of clubs and organizations ...Do you belong to any of these groups?")

(Percentages across)

	KOAC TYPOLOGY					
NUMBER OF ORGANIZATIONS	Viewers	Potential Fans	Resisters	No Answer	Total %	N
None	10%	18	67	5	100%	159
One	12%	21	62	6	101%	218
Two	8%	24	62	6	100%	194
Three	11%	30	53	6	100%	174
Four or five	9%	25	63	3	100%	170
Six or more	17%	33	43	7	100%	98
No Answer	-	-	-	-	-	11

While this may indicate that a surprising number of club members are making time for educational television, giving consideration only to viewing tends to obscure the very real increase in the number of <u>potential fans</u> among the more persistant joiners. It is probably the press of time

more than anything else which limits so many accepters among the more active joiners to being potential rather than actual fans.

Without further analysis the data do not offer an explanation for the increase in the desire for educational television among the more organizationally minded. It might simply be that they are by coincidence the more educated, or employed in high status occupations. It might also be that the active participants in community affairs have a need for the type of knowledge supplied by KOAC-TV but not to be found elsewhere on television. More fanciful explanations are possible, but the various hypotheses will have to await testing before they can be treated seriously in a report.

Cultural Activities. Not only must educational television face the competition for time made by organizations upon their members, but books lectures, concerts, classical records, and libraries, among others, all offer the same possibility for intellectual growth and each of these demands relatively undivided attention. It is logical to suppose that the more time devoted to one type of activity the less will there be for any others capable of filling the same need. This is certainly not the case, as the data show, when educational television is considered as one form of "high-brow" or cultural communication.

Table XIV

NUMBER OF CULTURAL PURSUITS - KOAC-TV
("Have you done any of the things listed...during the past month?")

(Percentages across)

NUMBER OF CULTURAL PURSUITS	KOAC TYPOLOGY: Viewers	Potential Fans	Resisters	No Answer	Total %	Total N
None	9%	17	68	6	100%	435
One or two	10%	28	57	5	100%	457
Three to five	20%	38	40	2	100%	128
No Answer	-	-	-	-	-	4

It is true, however, that the greater the number of cultural pursuits the less time there is for general television. The viewers most devoted to culture spend a high proportion of the lessened amount of time left for television viewing in watching educational television and cultural programs over KOAC-TV.

Table XV

NUMBER OF CULTURAL PURSUITS - GENERAL TELEVISION
("Have you done any of the things listed...during the past month?")

(Percentages across)

NUMBER OF CULTURAL PURSUITS	WEEKLY TELEVISION VIEWING (HOURS): 0-9½	10-19½	20-29½	30 or more	Total %	Total N
None	11%	25	29	36	101%	435
One or two	16%	26	27	31	100%	457
Three to five	34%	34	20	13	101%	128
No Answer	-	-	-	-	-	4

The observations we have made regarding the differences in the ratio of KOAC-TV viewing to the general television of the college educated as opposed to those not so educated, between blue collar and the lower white collar worker, and between those who pursue culture and those who do not, suggest the generalisation that the dedicated television viewers do not watch appreciably more educational television. This in turn would seem a basis for infering that there may be a real distinction in the mind of viewers between what could be called "entertainment" television as contrased with "educational" television.

A brief summation of what has been said up to this point seems in order. Four factors known to those familiar with educational television research have been examined and shown to be directly related to resistance to educational programs. The resister can be characterized as a person lacking a college education; employed in a lower status occupation, except that he is not a blue collar worker; more or less isolated from the voluntarily organized life in his community and not actively interested in cultural pursuits as books and music. Whether an accepter is actually a viewer or only potentially a fan seems to be a matter of the amount of time he has at his disposal. This is not to say th at there are no fans among the less educated, low status, non-participant and uncultured individuals, but only that these are factors which, especially in combination with one another, make it highly probable that a person will be a resister.

The Family. Though it has been convenient to consider the viewer as a solitary individual it is most unrealistic to do so. It fails to take into account the viewer's behavior in his usual viewing situation -- the family. It can be seen from the data that the number of resisters in large families is the same as the number found in smaller families or among people living alone.

Table XVI

NUMBER OF PEOPLE LIVING IN HOUSEHOLD - KOAC-TV
("How many people...are there living in this household?")

(Percentages across)

NUMBER OF PEOPLE LIVING IN HOUSEHOLD	KOAC TYPOLOGY: Viewers	Potential Fans	Resisters	No Answer	Total %	Total N
Lives alone	19%	19	60	2	100%	57
Two people	14%	24	57	5	100%	295
Three or more people	9%	25	60	6	100%	669
No Answer	-	-	-	-	-	3

Another look at the data, however, reveals that KOAC-TV has only half as many viewers among people living in large families of three or more persons as among people who live by themselves. Though desire to view KOAC-TV does not change with family size active viewing does become considerably reduced in the larger families. Half of all accepters are viewers among people who live alone, close to one-third are viewers among couples, but only one-quarter are viewers when an individual shares a television set with two or more other people. The family environment effects the chances of a potential fan ever becoming a viewer, but does not relate to resistance to educational television.

How might this proportionate decrease in KOAC-TV viewing be explained? The person who lives by himself is free to choose any program he wishes and does not have to answer to the program preferences of another. Two people living together, most often man and wife, do have to take each other's preferences into account in selecting programs, but are less likely to have conflicts than larger families, those with children or adult relatives, where more desires have to be noted and agreement is harder to reach. The larger the family, therefore, the more conflict to be expected over program selection. Since it is probably safe to assume that an effort will be made to keep the family tension level low, the result might most often be to select those programs thought to please most of the family. The data show that a majority of television viewers have consistently resisted educational television (see Table VII) and the majority in a family will probably win its way in program selection. Little wonder, then, that members of larger families, despite favorable attitudes toward KOAC-TV, less often get the chance to actually view the station's programs.

There is some additional evidence supporting our suppositions about the importance of the family. If the husband or wife of the respondent is a regular or occasional viewer of KOAC-TV the respondent has about one chance in four of being a viewer, but if the spouse is a resister there is only one chance in fourteen of the respondent being a fan. If the individual has no family to either facilitate or hinder his educational viewing he has one chance in eight of viewing KOAC-TV. For those who want to encourage educatinnal television viewing it is best if a person lives with someone who is a viewer or a fan, worst to live with a resister, and neither harmful nor helpfulto live alone.

Table XVII

SPOUSE'S KOAC EXPERIENCE - KOAC-TV
("Does your spouse watch KOAC-TV regularly, occasionally, or almost never?")

(Percentages across)

	KOAC TYPOLOGY					
SPOUSE WATCHES KOAC-TV	Viewer	Potential Fan	Resister	No Answer	Total %	N
Not married	13%	22	61	4	100%	115
Regularly or occasionally	25%	41	32	3	101%	184
Almost never	7%	22	66	4	99%	644
No answer	6%	11	63	20	100%	81

Age. Younger people who are still unmarried, or when married have not yet had children, and widows, widowers, and retired couples all live in small families. Remembering that members of small families have higher demands for educational television it should follow that people under 25 or over 65, the two age groups living in smaller households, have a higher proportion of KOAC-TV viewers.

Our data demonstrates that this is the outcome only for the older members of the sample; the people under 25 years of age being the most resistant of any age group. Those over 65 years of age are atypical in that they watch a great deal of both educational and commercial television. There were several reasons for expecting this. Small family size and the availability of time are only partial explanations for the large numbers of KOAC-TV viewers among older viewers. Being brought up in a different era might have instilled a higher value for education. Being retired from active involvement in the day to day tensions of money making may have eased their need for escape and relaxation. As it is we simply do not yet know the answer.

Table XVIII

AGE - KOAC-TV
("What is your age?")

(Percentages across)

AGE	KOAC TYPOLOGY: Viewers	Potential Fans	Resisters	No Answer	Total %	Total N
Under 25	5%	22	64	8	99%	59
25 - 34	8%	27	62	3	100%	192
35 - 44	11%	24	59	6	100%	260
45 - 54	12%	29	55	4	100%	249
55 - 64	5%	25	65	4	99%	130
65 and above	21%	14	55	9	99%	121
No Answer	-	-	-	-	-	13

Table XIX

AGE - GENERAL TELEVISION
("What is your age?")

AGE	WEEKLY TELEVISION VIEWING (HOURS): 0-9½	10-19½	20-29½	30 or more	Total %	Total N
Under 25	14%	12	32	43	101%	59
25 - 34	12%	29	26	34	101%	192
35 - 44	18%	22	29	31	100%	260
45 - 54	16%	32	27	25	100%	249
55 - 64	15%	28	30	26	99%	130
65 and over	18%	26	22	35	101%	121
No Answer	-	-	-	-	-	13

Motives for Television Viewing. There can be no questioning the proposition that people watch television for a wide variety of reasons. There is, however, room for doubt about the identity of specific reasons or motives in television viewing and how these motives serve to direct viewers towards or away from educational television. It is possible to conceive of at least five needs which can be satisfied by television viewing:

1. The need for aesthetic enrichment which can be satisfied by programs featuring art, music, or literature, of the type frequently found on educational television as well as on other channels.
2. The need for knowledge or an education which is the special target of all educational stations but which is also an aim of commercial television, not to speak of books, the schools, and any number of other sources.
3. The need for escape from the tension or boredom of everyday reality, for the relaxation provided by television as a medium of entertainment.
4. The need for a stimulating, exciting involvement in the activities of others.
5. The need for company, for interaction with other people satisfied by either a vicarious companionship with people on the screen, or by talking with others about people or things seen on the screen.

This is not a theoretically exhaustive list of motives for television, but it is an example of a type of framework which may illuminate some underlying factors in program selection. For instance, it is the people who want escape or seek relaxation who are in the majority and who watch television avidly but educational television only occasionally.

Above all it is the people who watch television for company or social interaction who have the most resisters among their ranks to educational television which does not often use people to dramatize ideas but instead employs lecturers who deliver knowledge more or less straight from the book. Three-quarters of the people watching television for its social value spend more than twenty hours a week in front of their sets compared to only a quarter of the aesthetically motivated, but 25 per cent of the

Table XX

REASON FOR WATCHING TELEVISION - GENERAL TELEVISION
("Which...reason comes closest to your...reason for watching (television)?")

(Percentages across)

REASON	WEEKLY TELEVISION VIEWING (HOURS) 0-9½	10-19½	20-29½	30 or more	Total %	N
1. There is some beautiful art and music on television.	39%	35	22	4	100%	23
2. It is a way of getting an education; I can often learn something from television.	15%	27	26	32	100%	226
3. It relaxes me.	15%	30	29	25	99%	518
4. It gives me an idea of how other people live; It is exciting.	24%	31	14	31	100%	49
5. It gives me something to talk about with my friends; It gives me company.	11%	14	24	51	100%	157
No Answer	-	-	-	-	-	51

viewers wanting beautiful music and art viewed KOAC-TV during the week while only 6 per cent of the interaction seekers, who are generally the heavy television viewers, watched the educational station.

Table XXI

REASON FOR WATCHING TELEVISION - KOAC-TV
("Which...reason comes closest to your...reason for watching (television)?")

(Percentages across)

REASON	KOAC TYPOLOGY Viewer	Potential Fan	Resister	No Answer	Total %	N
1. There is some beautiful art and music on television.	26%	26	43	4	99%	23
2. It is a way of getting an education; I can often learn something from television.	18%	25	49	8	100%	226
3. It relaxes me.	9%	24	63	4	100%	518
4. It gives me an idea of how other people live; It is exciting.	8%	18	65	8	99%	49
5. It gives me something to talk about with my friends; It gives me company.	6%	24	66	4	100%	157
No Answer	-	-	-	-	-	51

Knowing how motives affect educational television viewing stimulates further interest in a second question: what type of life situation or social background gives rise to the various and divergent needs for which television is an outlet? In other words, how is it that one person watches television in order to be entertained while another wants to satisfy his need for an education? Understanding the genesis of the attitudes behind television viewing is of no value to the educational broadcaster unless he is also aware of ways to appeal to those who are not primarily concerned with music, art, or education. The vast majority of viewers watch for reasons which will not immediately lead them to educational programs. Are they thus to be written off as unreachable resisters and a strategy followed which is designed to increase the viewing time of the already favorable, or is it possible and worthwhile to devise a program aimed at the unmotivated without distorting the nature of educational television? We will have some suggestions on this crucial question in future reports.

Opinion Leadership. Over the past few years a great deal of attention has been given in the literature on communications to the concept of opinion leadership. This concept is usually interposed between the notion, at one time current, that the mass media sways people at will, and the counter notion that each citizen weighs and evaluates the facts presented by the media and makes an individual and rational decision. The crux of the "gatekeeper" concept is that some people do examine in an intelligent way the emanations of the mass media and than pass along their conclusions to the unexposed or the indecisive. If this is the case in television as well as movies, fashions or politics, what are the implications for educational television? Fortunately for educational broadcasters the

Table XXII

OPINION LEADERSHIP - KOAC-TV
("Would you say you discuss television with other people very often, often, occasionally, or almost never?")

(Percentages across)

HOW OFTEN	KOAC TYPOLOGY: Viewers	Potential Fans	Resisters	No Answer	Total %	Total N
Very often	16%	23	55	6	100%	96
Often	9%	26	60	5	100%	174
Occasionally	11%	25	58	5	99%	565
Almost never	10%	21	64	5	100%	168
No Answer	10%	24	62	5	101%	21

viewers who talk most about television or who are most likely to be asked their opinion about what program to watch are more often KOAC-TV viewers than

Table XXIII

OPINION LEADERSHIP - KOAC-TV
("Compared with other people, would you say...you are more likely or less likely than most to be asked your opinion on which television programs to watch?")

(Percentages across)

OPINION LEADERSHIP	KOAC TYPOLOGY: Viewers	Potential Fans	Resisters	No Answer	Total %	Total N
More likely	20%	22	54	5	101%	97
About the same	10%	22	63	5	100%	452
Less likely	10%	27	57	6	100%	449
No Answer	8%	31	58	4	101%	26

are those who are not consulted. It seems reasonable to assume that people who watch KOAC-TV more than others and who are the most frequently asked for recommendations will suggest an educational program more readily than the non KOAC-TV viewing majority. This presumption will require testing and will be the basic concern of a separate report.

Adult Education. Educational radio and educational television have often been thought of as instruments of adult education offering much of the same type of material that an adult student would receive if he seriously pursued a night school education, a university correspondence course, or some form of vocational education. That KOAC-TV is in the mainstream of adult education is indicated by the fact that participants in either vocational, night or correspondence courses are more commonly educational television fans or accepters than non-participants. The

Table XXIV

ADULT EDUCATION EXPERIENCE - KOAC-TV
("Have you ever gone to a vocational-training school, a night school, or taken a correspondence course?")

(Percentages across)

	KOAC TYPOLOGY					
EXPERIENCE	Viewers	Potential Fans	Resisters	No Answer	Total %	Total N
None	9%	22	63	5	99%	577
One type	12%	28	54	6	100%	352
Two types	15%	21	59	5	100%	61
Three types	25%	35	40	-	100%	20
No Answer	-	-	-	-	-	14

greater the interest in a continuing education, as measured by a count of the number of forms of adult education a person has experienced, the more readily will he join the ranks of KOAC-TV viewers and fans.

The data are presented in a form which makes it appear that an increase in other forms of adult education leads to a positive reaction to KOAC-TV. This would be a false impression, for in the abscence of additional data it is only possible to conclude that KOAC-TV viewing fits in with other avenues to adult education. There are no grounds in the data for speculaing which comes first for any individual, though this might be an important area for further inquiry.

Orientation Towards Innovation. Educational television is an innovation in the sense that two formerly unassociated factors are for the first time brought together, and the merger which results, even though it is in many aspects similar to each of the two factors as they were in their independent states, is something new and different. Many who might be well disposed to either education or television separately may have difficulty in comprehending that education can be linked to television without any loss in the ability of either to perform its traditional function. Some people have so great an attachment to established ways of doing things that any change, even one which amalgamates two activities which they favored when separate, is so psychologically disturbing that they will reject the new configurations. To test the hypothesis

that people who resist cultural innovations would also resist educational television we adopted a five item scale from Herbert McClosky's conservatism measure.[4] The five items are:

1. I'd want to know that something would really work before I'd be willing to take a chance on it.
2. It is never wise to introduce change rapidly.
3. You can't change human nature.
4. If you start trying to change things very much you usually make them worse.
5. It is better to stick by what you have than to be trying new things you really don't know about.

The respondents could agree or disagree with each item at various levels of intensity ranging from "strongly" through "somewhat" to "slightly." Standard scaling procedures were used to assign to each individual a total score for the five item test. A general resistance to innovations was matched with a resistance to educational television, though there is no way of knowing if the relationship is an outgrowth of the perception that educational television is an innovation, or if the other resistance producing factors, such a lack of a college education, or low status white collar job, have led to a general relectance to accept the new and original. Regardless of which possibility is the true one, the fact still remains that when we encounter a negative attitude toward educational television we are at the same time meeting but one manifestation of a more deep seated resistance to any type of change. Understanding that a fundamental personality force is at work and one which seriously affects popular response

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4. The items in this scale were taken from among those used by McClosky in his study of "Conservatism and Personality," as reported in the American Political Science Review, Vol. LII, Pages 27-45. At the core of the scale would seem to be a willingness to act in relation to the newness or oldness of an object regardless of the intrinsic value of the object for the person.

Table XXV

INNOVATION SCALE - KOAC-TV

(Percentages across)

	KOAC TYPOLOGY					
INNOVATION SCALE	Viewer	Potential Fan	Resister	No Answer	Total %	N
Accepter	17%	32	48	3	100%	117
	10%	28	56	5	99%	190
	13%	25	57	5	100%	287
	9%	22	63	5	99%	128
	4%	23	62	11	100%	71
Resister	8%	15	74	3	100%	53
No Answer to two or more items	21%	17	59	3	100%	29
No Return	7%	20	68	5	100%	149

to educational television prepares us to take the next step -- an exploration of the literature on innovation and resistance for suggestions about the means by which this generalized form of resistance might be reduced, at least in the case of educational television. This phase of the analysis together with a series of insights developed from depth interviews with highly resistant individuals will be given special treatment by the study staff.

Authoritarian Personalities. There is another personality factor which may be working to the disadvantage of educational television. Educational television is an innovation in that two previously unattached techniques have been combined; it is also a source of innovations for the many to whom it is a stimulator of new ideas, new ways of looking at and doing things. Not

only can new and original ideas be seen and heard on KOAC-TV, also to be observed are relatively objective discussions of the pros and cons of many ideas and issues. Those who shy away from new and unfamiliar ways of thought or behavior, and those made uncomfortable by open debate of all sides of a question have been called authoritarian personalities. They want issues to be settled for them, and settled for all time, by authorities who will relieve them of the burden of thinking and deciding for themselves. A logical deduction from our knowledge of educational television and authoritarian personalities is the hypothesis that authoritarians are less likely than non authoritarians to be receptive to the programming from KOAC-TV. This was tested with a four-item scale of authoritarianism derived from the new classic F scale.[5] The four items used were:

1. The findings of science may someday show that many of our most cherished beliefs are wrong.

2. Most of our social problems could be solved if we could somehow get rid of the immoral, crooked, and feebleminded people.

3. People ought to pay more attention to new ideas even if they seem to go against the American way of life.

4. What youth needs most is strict discipline, rugged determination, and the will to work and fight for family and country.

Again utilizing standard scaling procedures we find that a very small proportion of the few extremely authoritarian subscribers are viewers or potential fans of KOAC-TV. Coupled with the relative lack of resistance among the non-authoritarians this finding corroborates the hypothesis but accentuates what has already been said in regard to

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5. This is a shortened version of the original F scale (Adorno, T.W., et al., The Authoritarian Personality, New York, 1950, Pp. 222ff) containing two reversed items inserted in the scale as a precaution against response set.

Table XXVI

AUTHORITARIANISM SCALE - KOAC-TV

(Percentages across)

	KOAC TYPOLOGY					
AUTHORITARIANISM	Viewers	Potential Fans	Resisters	No Answer	Total %	Total N
Low Authoritarian	18%	35	48	-	101%	40
	10%	35	47	8	100%	100
	10%	24	61	5	100%	326
	13%	24	57	6	100%	345
High Authoritarian	3%	17	80	-	100%	35
No answer to two or more items	17%	17	62	3	99%	29
No return	7%	20	68	5	100%	149

resistance to innovations: there are very real limits to anyone's ability to reduce resistance to educational television when he must confine himself to means which leave unaltered the basic patterns of family and social life which give rise to authoritarianism.

Program Selection Procedures. At this point, it may be profitable to look at a personality trait akin to authoritarianism in a form which illustrates the way in which characteristics of this sort make their impact upon educational television. At some time or another a decision has to be make as to which, if any, program to watch at a particular hour. This decision can be made at the beginning of the season, at the beginning of the week, at the beginning of the day, or just before each program. A decision which is made at a very early stage in an area of repetitive behavior such as television program selection and which is tenaciously

adhered to weeks and even months after it was originally taken is a feature by which a rigid personality pattern may be defined.

The most settled viewers, those who watch the same shows week after week, seldom make KOAC-TV part of their viewing habit. On the contrary educational television fares best among those who make no advance decision

Table XXVII

FAMILY DECISION MAKING - KOAC-TV
("How do you go about picking the television programs your family will watch?")

(Percentages across)

HOW FAMILY PICKS PROGRAMS	KOAC TYPOLOGY: Viewers	Potential Fans	Resisters	No Answer	Total %	N
1. We do not pick specific programs, just turn the set to one channel and leave it on that channel until we turn it off.	11%	25	50	14	100%	28
2. Turn the dial until we see a program that looks good.	16%	23	55	5	99%	179
3. Watch the same programs every week, do not make decisions with each program change.	8%	25	63	4	100%	380
4. Talk it over with other members of the household.	9%	30	56	5	100%	149
5. Station announcements	-	27	60	13	100%	15
6. Consult TV Guide	13%	15	63	9	100%	115
7. Consult newspapers	13%	24	60	4	101%	136
8. Consult other	6%	50	38	6	100%	16
No Answer	-	-	-	-	-	6

at all, but who twirl the dial after one program until they find another to their taste. On the other hand, there is one form of flexible decision making which works against KOAC-TV and for which our knowledge about the family as a television viewing unit has prepared us. Those of our respondents who "talk it over with other members of the household" are just as unlikely to tune in KOAC-TV as are the people who have long in advance predetermined their viewing schedule. Familial democracy in television program selection will lead to the entertaining program that the majority prefers.

Conclusion. It is the person who is both flexible and capable not only of making up his own mind but of influencing others, who is fairly well educated and has a respected occupation who is the least resistant to educational television as well as the most receptive to other forms of culture and education. But this form of composite portrait, which accumulates a number of characteristics that so far as we know from the descriptive investigation might well be unrelated to one another provides only the first glimpse or introduction to resistance and television.

At many instances in this report it has been necessary to raise questions only to say that they will have to wait for an answer because a fuller understanding would involve an analysis, a breakdown into component parts which offers a more detailed and precise comprehension of the intertwining of the resistance producing factors. Analysis of the factors which lead accepters to be viewers rather than potential fans; of the meaning of such personality facets as authoritarianism to resistance;

of the impact of opinion leaders on program selection; of the degree of diversity and heterogeneity in one's personal background and its influence on educational television viewing; of educational television as an innovation; and many other approaches to the problem of understanding resistance are currently underway or being planned.